/300 cont./

614 possible for us to discover a belief in survival in the buriti palm among the Ẽwãguddu. Perhaps we must also adopt an inverse hypothesis: the myth of the ancestor and his miracle is a retrospective explanation to take account of a collective belief in incarnation. It would be of the greatest interest to know whether the experiences related in the legends definitely belong to the past or whether the natives consider them capable of happening again.

779 In only one case does one find, at least in appearance, the
793 classic characteristics of totemism. All the Brazilian peasants
[262] who live /301/ or who have lived in contact with the Bororo know that the latter are very reluctant to eat veado /Portuguese word/ (a ruminant of the deer family), although cases to the contrary have been noted here and there. Now, Colbacchini's collection provides a version of the flood myth, in which one sees the only surviving Bororo marrying a female of a "veado matteiro," from which union six generations of hybrids are born, whose animal natures, predominant in the beginning, are gradually effaced until they end in the human type. But the animal of the legend seems clearly individualized from among the great variety of types of veados, whereas the prohibition has a rather vague character.
[614] Moreover, the latter is tribal, whereas the pobogo (forest veado) appears only among the Ki clan names, while the atubo and the orõgo (grassland veado and deer) do not figure among the names of any clan.

Note II

571 These epithets obviously must not be accepted without
614 examination. The natives were perfectly able to find pleasure in describing a clan with a prestigious name as poor. But the same
[115] information was provided by several informants, and reality seems to confirm it: the four Bãdejebage huts present a rather poor appearance, and one finds none of the ornaments suspended from
The beams frequent in most of the other habitations.

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
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● [115] constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[117] years, the Ĕera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bādejeba—one Bādejeba Ĕ̊abogeʷõ or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bādejeba Ĕębegeʷõ or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Ĕera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bādejeba Ĕębegeʷõ, however, held a pre-eminent place.

1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Ĕębegeʷōge and Ĕ̊abōgeʷōge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bādejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the ᵃKario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bādejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

people know a person by one name, some by another, depending on which name he was using at the time they had the closest contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b) and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers). Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of the referential systems, but there is some variation in how people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their own theories, but none of these theories worked through the whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links, placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

Birth

842 A child may have many fathers. Any man who has had sexual relations with the child's mother before or during pregnancy is considered one of the genitors, and is designated a "father" of the child. Both father (or fathers) and mother are equally responsible for the physical and mental characteristics of the child. Often the Bororo make comments about children saying that they are pretty or ugly, good or bad, some taking after their father, some after their mother. Different characteristics may have been taken from different fathers. As the chief of the village where I worked once told me: "I had two fathers, from the first I received my stature, and that is why I am so short. From my second father I received my heart." His second father had been a big chief and a knowledgeable man from whom he had learned the traditions and songs of the tribe. For the Bororo there is no such thing as a fatherless child. Everyone has a father, and the more fathers one has the better it is for him. [115] The knowledge of my informant was great because, as the Bororo explained to me, he was the son of the village wanton. Therefore all his fathers, all the men from the opposite moiety, taught him songs and stories. It is the duty 583 *601 of the child's mother to inform the boy or the girl when grown up enough to understand who his biological fathers are, and to teach him the kinship terms he should use for them and for their brothers, mothers and sisters.

000 Even now the ideal marriage is one contracted between a

613 list some names that nobody else did, we must suppose that their family tradition was a little different from the rest of the community. The placement of Koge (Enogwa) Tabowu is very interesting. Some included it among the Red Ivagududoge, others among the Black, and one said that it was neither Red nor Black, it was in between: boyadadawu. Thus, the members of this lineage can choose their ornaments and songs from either of the subclans.

I did the same kind of analysis for the other clans, and the result was the following list (Table X) of the most im- [124] portant Bororo lineages. It should be noted that no informant would give the same list, but the majority of them would include all of the lineages mentioned in the list.[1]

[128] [622] The order given to the lineages around the village circle (see table XI) follows the Bororo usage; and I started with Badajebage Chebegiwuge because this is the order followed by the chief in calling out clan members for the evening meeting on the village plaza. But when they talk about lineages or when they sing clan songs, the Bororo may start with whatever lineage or clan they prefer and then proceed either clockwise or counterclockwise until they have

[Text Continued On Page 123]

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[1] When I concluded my analysis and made the list, I asked my wife, whose primary interest in the field had not been Bororo social organization, to tell me the names of the lineages she considered to be most important. She mentioned 24 of them, all included in the list, leaving out Kurugugwari Pijiwu and Aturua. This shows how much these important lineages are part of the Bororo daily talk.

[115] [128]

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Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:

imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)

imo irogodu (body painting)

Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)

Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore.
[769] Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it
[115] possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

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833 562 123 775 added an explanation that I have not understood to this day: "The Bororo say that the man and the woman have to lie down one beside the other, because one day they will die and then they are reunited."

864 115 Atilio, my faithful traveling companion, Bororo from Sangradouro, later confirmed the statements of Tiago Aipobureu and added: "The father tells the son and the mother the daughter what people have to do during coitus." When he hears what position is taken by the whites in this act, he is startled at first and later says with mild indignation: "But what weight!"

833 171 From Nalikí, old Tereno chief, I received the following statement concerning his tribe: "When they are going to marry, the future husband hears from the father and the future wife hears from the mother that during coitus people lie on the side, to wit, one facing the other. 'At first you must do this because since the beginning of the tribe it was done this way; later you /144/ may do as you like.'" -- The Tereno also believe that the spouses meet each other again after death, then remaining together.

As far as I was able to find out, among the Guayakí, during coitus, both sexes also lie on the side, not facing each other, but the man behind the woman. On this matter they explained that, in this way, it depended on the woman's wish, to introduce the penis in the vagina or not, but that in any case it would remain for both a possibility of pleasure. It would also be possible this way to have pleasure with girls still impubic without harming them.

Among the Chamacoco, Kaskihá, Kaingang, Karajá, and Tapirapé, the woman, during coitus, lies on her back and the man on top of her.

000 But that this position, also on other continents, is or was not always considered normal is demonstrated by the following examples: according to a myth of the Yoruba in Africa, Obatalla, the god of the sky, and Odudua, the

5: Baldus--48 E-4,5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8 Eastern Bororo

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13. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu (Meruri)

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14. Eastern Bororo: Tiago Marques Aipobureu returning from hunting (Meruri)

5: Baldus--53 E-4, 5 (1934-1935) 1937 SP8 Bororo SP8
Eastern Bororo

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24: Eastern Bororo: Roberto Ipureu, my interpreter in Tori-paru, and a little boy from the same aldeia.

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115 [123] [145] School. Let us now pause at a peaceful scene. The Bororó boys were my special friends. From them I learned the most important elements of the language; they were extremely wide awake, pert, somewhat like little Niggerboys /given in English/, and in physical and mental agility decidedly ahead of our civilized European youth. They were extraordinarily pleased with their teacher-role and were constantly urging me to write things down: "poyédye papéra," roughly "again on the paper."

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Fig. 128. Bororó youths.

115 [193] I am indebted to them in particular for /463/ a knowledge of the pronominal prefixes for the body parts, which are different for each person, and soon their favorite sport was to declaim in their language, "my nose, your nose, his nose, our nose, your nose, their nose" in all sorts of variations. The little 115 153 scamp in the center in Figure 128 was especially intelligent. He was always hearing Bororó in our German. If the expression "papageienmässig" /Ger., "parrot-like"/ was used, there immediately came the exclamation: "papagaíma" = "we are bathing." One evening when Ehrenreich was addressing the moon in the words of Doctor Faust and came to the passage,

/463 cont./

415 153 "in Deinem Thau gesund mich baden" /to bathe myself sound in your dew/, the little fellow immediately interrupted with "itáu! akau, áu" = "my hair, your hair, his hair." This game was all the more original since the cadet Caldas, their schoolmaster, who was also supposed to be working on the Bororó language, pronounced the American pronominal prefixes which I was seeking to be silly humbug and an invention of the boys, on the order of chicken talk. And he stuck to it, because he was very stubborn in his views. He was also very scornful of our opinion that Latin is a dead language, for he said it is spoken in Egypt. But what was even worse, he maintained that "Müller" -- heaven knows where he got his knowledge of his only German word -- was a French word and insisted on it, despite the amusing despair of Ehrenreich, who, as a native Spree-Athenian /a Berliner/, was shaken to the depths of his thinking and feeling in the face of such an unheard-of attack on the Berlin address-book.

872 If Caldas, who received an extra allowance for the instruction of the Bororó boys, did not learn much from his pupils, they probably learned even less from him. It is true, the rogues came unwillingly; in the beginning they did not come at all and were persuaded to do so only when a few inquisitive fathers sat with them in the school. The way in which the recalcitrant ones were assembled in the morning reminded one vividly of the game "bringing the little pig into the pen." Moreover, they were extremely inattentive. I must admit, however, that the method could not have been more peculiar. I thought the children would first of all learn the Portuguese names for the most familiar things, useful plants, animals, implements, which would certainly have pleased them, because they asked about them spontaneously. I also thought, if they absolutely had to learn to read -- but it really does not matter what I thought, and it is better to limit oneself to the report.

Each of the boys had in his hand a sheet of paper that Caldas had written on. Thereupon we read -- not they, of course -- al, el, il, ol, ul, bal, bel, bil, bol, bul, dal, del, dil, dol, dul, etc. over the entire page. The teacher read them one line

/493 cont./

533 Dance and play. On the basis of the preceding, the aróe song, opening every communal hunting and fishing expedition, loses all [156] its strangeness. The bari, who solemnly divides up the booty at the end, also takes care of the solemn preliminaries for the under- [172] taking. We shall not yet go into the underlying view of the relationship between animal and human being, without which these ceremonies could scarcely have been invented except by charlatans, but with which they are probably justified in their origin.

The hunting song is the same as the one sung at the ceremony for the dead! It makes a very dignified and, at night, if one likes, horrible impression. At the ceremony for the dead, men and women sing together, the women, to be sure, standing to one side and in the background and often stopping, while the men do not permit themselves a pause. During the nocturnal preparations for the hunt, one heard only the deep booming voices of the men's chorus. [115] I owe the notes on the next page /see p. 618/ to the cadet Caldas. He made a distinction between a first song by the men alone and a second one by the men and women. The text which he wrote down for the first one is unfortunately useless. It is about the gull, schibáyu, which also occurs in the second, and, in spite of several repetitions, it is nothing but a mere listing of names. This latter – aróe is the text of the second song and, in a long sequence, is also what is usually sung -- not much poorer in variety in the text than in the music, which, though I have no technical knowledge, seems to me to achieve the ultimate in "monotony." The following "verses" were translated by Clemente and are given in the proper sequence: bakororó aróe, okóge aróe, schibáyu aróe, kurugúge aróe botoroé aróe imayaré aróe dyuretóto aróe kayatóto aróe manotóto aróe. The words listed are: water (a specific kind? otherwise póbe), dourado fish, gull, falcon, another predatory bird that eats fish, "its breast," water snake sukurí, mortar, swamp grass. The scene, therefore, is on the water; more I cannot say; whether the dead person experiences all kinds of things in the vicinity of his skeleton-basket buried there, whether the rival animals that catch fish are desired in the mortar, which would seem more /494/ credible -- I was unable to discover. Alternating with this song, "jaguar," "capibara," "parîko" (feather

/516 cont./

●115 Moguyokuri é muito criança, "is purely a child," said Clemente, who knows nothing, and this certainly agreed with the fact that the chief, as he told me, no longer knew who his grandfather was. A hoary old man who really knew something about the creation of the world -- for he had heard the details from his grandfather, who was himself present at the time -- this valuable informant was unfortunately off hunting.

829 Even information about other tribes with whom the Bororó were said to be in contact was extremely meager and limited to a few statements about the Kayapó, who were said to have smooth, short, but very strong and tough bows, rather small arrows made of tacoarasinha with feathers sewed on and two iron barbs, as well as a flat club, one meter long, shaped somewhat like a fish, made of seriba palm wood, and worn around the neck on a string.

1173 Besides these, however, there were other strange neighbors in the tribe of the Rarái, also called baredyeragúdo. One sees them only in twos or threes, and only at night; they wear bast cloth and have a blackish, never a light skin-color. They are monkeys. They threw Bororó to the ground at such and such a place and ran away. Clemente -- and this is not without value because he repeated the very words of the Indians themselves -- solemnly swore that the Rarái were monkeys; they do not have arrows, they pick up stones or wood from the ground to throw, and they also have garruchas -- "pistols," such as the Brazilian comrades and hence also the Negroes and the fleeing slaves (cf. for example, our lovers, page 23 /untranslated/) quite generally possessed. "They are monkeys and they shoot with pistols?" "Yes, they are monkeys with iron pistols." The Negro, accordingly, has the agreeable choice of being regarded as a monkey or as a black carrion-vulture. One must constantly remember and make clear to oneself, however, that there is no boundary here between human being and animal and even the possession of an implement of civilization does not mean a thing. If monkeys have pistols, one cannot very well say that they do not have them.